

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 LONDON 17048 01 OF 02 132011Z  
ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CU-04 DHA-05 STR-05 EB-08  
COME-00 AGRE-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07 IO-13 L-03  
NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 DODE-00 /104 W  
-----108573 132030Z /63

R 131645Z OCT 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9283  
INFO WHITE HOUSE  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
USDEL MBFR VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY BONN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 17048

WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI  
BELGRADE FOR CSCE DELEGATION

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: OVIP (PRESIDENT CARTER) PL, CSCE  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT TO POLAND

1. AT A RECEPTION HOSTED BY THE BRITISH FOR HEADS OF CSCE DELEGATIONS LAST WEEK, DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC AFFAIRS TOM RESTON APPROACHED POLISH CSCE DELEGATION CHIEF AMBASSADOR DOBRASHELVSKY WHOM HE HAD MET WHEN LAST IN BELGRADE WITH DEPUTY SECRETARY WARREN CHRISTOPHER DURING CSCE PREPARATORY TALKS. RESTON ASKED DOBRASHELVSKY WHETHER HE WAS PLEASED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S FORTHCOMING TRIP TO WARSAW. DOBRASHELVSKY REPLIED THAT HE WAS VERY PLEASED, "BUT IT IS A VERY DELICATE THING FOR US." DOBRASHELVSKY THEN REQUESTED TO SPEAK WITH RESTON PRIVATELY ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 17048 01 OF 02 132011Z

2. THE RESULT WAS A TWO-HOUR LUNCH IN A BELGRADE RESTAURANT BETWEEN CSCE CONFERENCE SESSIONS ON WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 12. JOINING IN THE LUNCHEON WAS JOZEF WIEJACZ, WHO IS CHIEF OF THE DEPARTMENT WHICH HANDLES EAST-WEST RELATIONS, THE VIENNA MBFR NEGOTIATIONS AND EUROPEAN SECURITY MATTERS IN THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTRY.

3. THE SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSION WAS OPENED BY RESTON WHO RAISED THE HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVES OF THE ADMINISTRATION. THERE ENSUED A LONG, SOMETIMES PHILOSOPHICAL, SOMETIMES TOUGH AND POINTED CONVERSATION ABOUT THE MOTIVES, GOALS AND MANNER OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY. THE TONE OF THE ENTIRE DISCUSSION WAS WARM, FRIENDLY AND RELAXED.

4. WHAT THE POLES WANT OUT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S VISIT: IT WAS CLEAR TO RESTON THAT UPPERMOST IN THE POLES' MINDS WAS THEIR ECONOMIC SITUATION AT HOME. THEY STRESSED AGAIN AND AGAIN THEIR HOPE THAT THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD RESULT IN IMPROVING ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. SPECIFICALLY, THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS WERE RAISED, AND MAY BE RAISED WITH THE PRESIDENT IN WARSAW.

5. ACCESS TO US MARKETS FOR POLISH EXPORTS. BOTH MEN WERE QUICK TO POINT OUT THE HEAVY DEFICIT WHICH POLAND IS RUNNING IN ITS BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN US-POLISH TRADE. THEY WOULD LIKE TO SELL MORE INDUSTRIAL GOODS TO US, SPECIFICALLY, SHOES, TEXTILES AND GLASS. THEY COMPLAINED THAT EVERY TIME THEY START EXPORTING PRODUCTS TO THE US IN QUANTITY, THEY GET CHARGED WITH "DUMPING," AS THEY HAVE BEEN WITH ELECTRIC GOLF CARTS. SOMEWHAT RUEFULLY, THEY ASKED: "WHERE ELSE CAN WE SELL THEM?"  
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PAGE 03 LONDON 17048 01 OF 02 132011Z

THERE REALLY IS ONLY ONE COUNTRY."

6. INVESTMENT CREDITS: THE JOINT VENTURES NOW OPERATED BY INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER AND RCA IN POLAND ARE GOING QUITE WELL, BUT TO DO MORE OF THIS, "IT TAKES INVESTMENT CREDITS."

7. CCC CREDITS: POLAND WISHES TO MAINTAIN ITS SUBSTANTIAL AGRICULTURAL TRADE WITH THE US, BUT "CCC CREDITS ARE NECESSARY."

8. EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS IN EUROPE: GIEREK WILL PROBABLY WISH TO RAISE A NUMBER OF ITEMS ON THIS AGENDA. THE POLES ARE VERY PLEASED AT THE RECENT WARMING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE US AND THE SOVIET UNION. A VISIT BY THE PRESIDENT IF US-SOVIET RELATIONS WERE STRAINED WOULD BE "PARTICULARLY DELICATE" FOR POLAND BECAUSE OF THE SUSPICIONS IT MIGHT AROUSE IN MOSCOW.

9. MBFR VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS: POLAND ATTACHES PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE TO THESE TALKS, AND IT BELIEVES IT

CAN BE HELPFUL ON MOVING THE TALKS FORWARD. "WE ARE  
IN GREAT NEED OF REACHING SOME SORT OF AGREEMENT -- WE

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PAGE 01 LONDON 17048 02 OF 02 132012Z  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 LONDON 17048

WOULD EVEN ACCEPT SOMETHING WHICH IS MERELY SYMBOLIC --  
BECAUSE THE TALKS ARE LOSING DYNAMISM." AT THE SAME  
TIME, HOWEVER, POLAND CANNOT ACCEPT THE CONCEPT OF  
"COLLECTIVE CEILINGS" SINCE UNDER THAT CONCEPT, WHILE  
THE US MIGHT WITHDRAW SOME TROOPS FROM EUROPE, GERMANY  
MIGHT BE ABLE TO RAISE HER TROOP LEVELS.

10. GERMANY: THE POLES THOUGHT THE PRESIDENT NEEDED  
TO HEAR THEIR SIDE OF THE TRADITIONAL POLISH-GERMAN  
RIVALRY. THEY STILL RETAIN THEIR HISTORIC UNEASE ABOUT  
THE GERMANS. HAVING SAID THAT, HOWEVER, THEY BELIEVE  
THAT THE EMIGRATION PROGRAM FOR ETHNIC GERMANS IN  
POLAND HAS GONE QUITE WELL.

11. POLISH ALLIANCES WITH OTHER EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS:  
AMBASSADOR DOBRASHEVSKY SPOKE OF THE "ENVY" FELT BY  
OTHER EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT IS  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 LONDON 17048 02 OF 02 132012Z

COMING TO POLAND. THE POLES REGARD THIS QUESTION AS BEING ONE OF SOME DELICACY. FOR INSTANCE, DOBRASHELVSKY DELIVERED AN ATTACK ON THE FIRST AMERICAN HUMAN RIGHTS SPEECH IN THE CLOSED PLENARY SESSION AT CSCE.

DOBRASHELVSKY TOLD RESTON THAT HE WOULD NOT HAVE DELIVERED THE ATTACK HAD NOT THE PRESIDENT ANNOUNCED HIS INTENTION TO COME TO WARSAW. POLAND WAS UNDER SOME PRESSURE TO SOLIDIFY ITS POSITION WITH OTHER WARSAW PACT NATIONS, DOBRASHELVSKY SAID.

12. HUMAN RIGHTS: THE POLES STRESSED THAT THEIR COUNTRY WAS ONE OF THE BEST IN EAST EUROPE ON HUMAN RIGHTS. DOBRASHELVSKY SAID THAT GIEREK HAD BEEN THE FIRST EAST EUROPEAN LEADER TO RAISE THE SUBJECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS PUBLICLY IN A STATEMENT HE DELIVERED TO PARLIAMENT LAST APRIL. "IN THE PAST," DOBRASHELVSKY SAID, "WE MAY HAVE DEVOTED TOO MUCH ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND NOT ENOUGH ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS."

13. GIEREK: GIEREK IS LOOKING FORWARD TO VERY FRANK DISCUSSIONS WITH THE PRESIDENT. BOTH POLES AT THE LUNCH SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER COULD RAISE ANY QUESTION HE WISHED WITH GIEREK. NOTHING SHOULD BE OFF LIMITS.

14. CULTURAL EXCHANGES: THE POLES ARE SOMEWHAT UNHAPPY ABOUT THE LOW PROFILE WHICH POLISH CULTURAL VISITS HAVE IN THE U.S. THEY WISH IT COULD BE POSSIBLE TO STAGE MORE POLISH CULTURAL EVENTS IN THE U.S. TOO OFTEN, HOWEVER, THEY ARE TOLD THAT THEY MUST ARRANGE SUCH VISITATIONS WITH THE PRIVATE SECTOR. THEY WOULD LIKE THE HELP OF THE US GOVERNMENT TO ENCOURAGE THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO ARRANGE MORE CULTURAL EVENTS.

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PAGE 03 LONDON 17048 02 OF 02 132012Z

15. HOW POLAND WOULD LIKE TO BE SEEN BY US: POLAND WOULD LIKE TO PLAY AN INDEPENDENT ROLE, BUT NOT ANTI-SOVIET. THIS WAS THE FORMULATION WHICH WAS USED OVER AND OVER AGAIN DURING THE LUNCH. POLAND SEES ITSELF AS A MEDIUM-SIZED NATION OF 35 MILLION PEOPLE WHICH HAS IMPORTANT SECURITY INTERESTS IN EUROPE.

16. THINGS TO AVOID: IN EXPLAINING THE PRESIDENT'S TRIP, THE POLES SAID IT WOULD BE "COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE"

TO SAY PUBLICLY THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS GOING TO POLAND  
IN ORDER TO HELP WEAN POLAND AWAY FROM THE SOVIET UNION.  
THE POLISH PEOPLE RECOGNIZE THE REALITIES OF THEIR  
GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND "80 OR 90 PER CENT" OF THEM  
RECOGNIZE THAT MOVING AWAY FROM THE SOVIET UNION IS NOT  
A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY.

17. ALSO TO BE AVOIDED, IN THE VIEW OF THESE TWO POLES,  
WAS A PUBLIC LINE THAT THE PRESIDENT WAS GOING TO POLAND  
BECAUSE POLAND WAS GOOD ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHEREAS, SAY,  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA WAS BAD ON HUMAN RIGHTS. "WE ARE  
INTERESTED IN BEING NEITHER THE WHIPPING BOY NOR THE  
BEST EXAMPLE," DOBRASHELVSKY SAID.

18. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE LUNCH, BOTH DOBRASHELVSKY  
AND WIEJACZ WISHED RESTON TO CONVEY THEIR REGARDS TO  
BRZEZINSKI.

BREWSTER

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## Message Attributes

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